Num. 25.

THE General-Exciſe Conſider'd.

I R,

Am glad to hear the Members of Parliament for your Countrey are in the Diſpoſition you ſpeak of, that they ceaſe being Enemies, as ſenſible they muſt of their Countrey, or become juſt Friends upport its Intereſt. It is time thoſe unNames of Parties be laid aſide; and one common Term of eternal Reproach ew coin'd for them of either ſide, that ſt the Duty of true Engliſh men in this al Meeting.

hus far we agree; but it was unreaſonayou by one Queſtion in ſo ſhort a Letto put me to the neceſſity of a Volume in r. It was fit onely to be ask'd a Dealer Revelations, *What ſhall we do to ſupthe Honour and Intereſt of the Nation?* our End of the Town, by good luck, Queſtion is reſolved in as few words as ropoſed it; *Give a General Exciſe.* This ſingle Expedient, and the onely Reaſon hſafed for it is, You can ſupport the Goment no other way.

his is the Chimical State-Remedy intento all our Diſeaſes, which I think my ſelf ed to give you notice of, not ſo much hat I can ſay, as to put you and all ſober thinking, that they may not wink like ſh Women, and let their Blood be drawn them in ſuch a manner, as will not onetaken their own, but certainly deſtroy publick Conſtitution.

t but that I own our Supplies for next muſt be to the utmoſt of what the Nacan bear: In this I ſhall agree with a niſſioner of the Treaſury, or a Chairof a Money-Bill, though I may differ him in the Ways of raiſing it, and perin the Manner of laying it out. The End reat Taxes muſt be the Support of the rnment againſt its Enemies; but if the propoſed for raiſing them more certaindeſtroy it than thoſe Foes can do, I muſt leave to ſeek for other Methods. Now this, and nothing leſs, I take to be the Caſe, if Moneys be raiſed by a General Exciſe; and it is undeniable, that whatever Summ is ſo levied, ſhall coſt the People near a fourth part more than ſhall come to the Service of the Government, and that whatſoever is pretended to the contrary, the Burthen of this Tax does and muſt fall upon the Men of Eſtates in Lands.

But before I go on, I muſt endeavour to ſhew the neceſſity of an Union between thoſe that differ perhaps in little things, yet agree in their Concern for the Well-being, Honor, and Safety of the Nation; our onely hope is in the Good-underſtanding of this Parliament, and I am convinced it was miſtaking one another begun thoſe Feuds, which are carried on (I fear) by ſome that pretend to Moderation.

It muſt be allowed of King *Charles* II. that the divided Intereſt of Proteſtant and Papiſt was what he encouraged, not ſo much out of Inclination to either, as always preferring thoſe that were for his preſent Purpoſes, when that is out of doors, a divided Intereſt amongſt Proteſtants may be managed to the ſame ends, it might ptrhaps be ſuſpected, if it were poſſible to think the great Men in Affairs now, could have the like apprehenſion of Things with thoſe that influenced in the laſt Reigns.

But it may eaſily be diſcerned by any Body honeſtly inquiſitive, whether a ſincere Union be intended by thoſe that govern, towards reconciling Mankind to a publick Good, or whether the Buſineſs be to obtain their Ends upon a divided People.

The laſt Government has left us freſh *Ideas* of ſuch a *Scaramuchi* Adminiſtration, where the Managers, dreſt like *Harlequin*, one Side *Spaniard*, th'other *French*, have always half a Face ready for every Faction, but a Heart ſteady to nothing but their own Deſigns: A thouſand Inſtances might be given, to ſerve for the diſcovering the like, whenever they are afoot; but I ſhall onely mention ſome few, which may eaſily be diſcovered.

First, When Men are examined by the Project, and not the Project by the Men.

Secondly, When the Liberty of Parliament is awed. And,

Laſtly, When the Integrity of its Members is attempted by Corruption.

To make my ſelf rightly underſtood: As to the firſt, I will ſuppoſe, That this Notion of a General Exciſe, ſo much talk'd of at preſent, had been a State Project in the thoughts of the late King onely; and ſome Foreigner, a *Dada* ſent from *Rome*, or a *Barillon* from *France*; they might juſtly have concluded, ſuch a Fund would enable them to carry on their Deſigns without Parliaments: And who doubts then whether the Privy Council had had been troubled with ſuch a Buſineſs, or whether without more conſideration, it had not been immediately ſet up for a Touch-ſtone of Men's Inclinations to the Government, and the ſubject Matter for Cloſetting, the Conſequence of which had been, Every Man had loſt his Employment, that had not approved and promiſed it, and any new Face received in to them, who had but heartily engaged.

One may ſay this Project had been thus managed in the laſt Reign, ſince in Relation to the Teſt-Act the ſame Methods were taken, theſe Practices gave the juſt Diſguſt of the laſt Court: And as they were the certain Signs of the Game I have mentioned, ſo what ever the Matter in queſtion be, it is this Manner of Managing of it betrays the like Deſign. This is fundamentally ſubverting the Conſtitution, in my Opinion, to force Men to act againſt their Conſcience, or be undone, to proſtitute the Places of Profit and Honour deſigned as Encouragements and Reward, for thoſe that labour to ſupport the Government, to ſuch onely as can be found moſt ready to comply with whatſoever is expected from them.

This is the trying Men by the Project (as I call it,) theſe are the infallible Symptoms of an over-ruling Ambition, that muſt be ſatisfied by any Means, by any Men, that will rather deal with known Enemies, that profeſs Compliance, than truſt to tried Friends, that have any Reſerves or Scruples.

But to the ſecond Point I mentioned, that of Impoſing upon Parliaments, or by any means Awing that Parliamentary Liberty and Authority, which I take to be the Life of our Government,

For Examples I muſt always revert to the late Reigns, to which we all allow the Deſigns I have ſpoken of: For what concerns the future I ſhall need repeat it no more, that take it for granted, in all Caſes from the like Premiſſes, we are to expect the like Concluſions, from the like Men the ſame Deſigns from the like Management the ſame Things intended.

The Cloſetting then about the Teſt-Act by King *James*, muſt be allowed the moſt notorious Attempt upon Parliamentary Liberties that ever was made, but at the ſame time the weakeſt. It was below a King to aſk it that manner, ſince it was beneath a Subject to own he would comply, though it were his Opinion; the Folly of it was ſufficiently made evident at that time, for it ſtruck off from his Intereſt a number of Men, who had accompanied his Deſigns till then with the utmoſt Vigour.

Should he have made a Pill too big for them to ſwallow, that (Saviours of the Nation) had baffled the Popiſh Plot, and ſupported the Proteſtant one, that by one Blow worthy of their Parts, had ſtruck at all the Liberties of *England* by the ſingle Project of the *Charters*.

Should the Doſe have been made ſuch as thoſe Stomachs could not bear, that could digeſt their Dinner in a place where Gibbets were erected, and Men executed for their Entertainment.

Should they have been balk'd, who (the zealous Churchmen) could nevertheleſs, as Members of the high Commiſſion Court, ſuſpend Biſhops, and diſincorporate Colledges, and for no other Crime than their unwillingneſs to promote the Deſigns of the Papiſts.

But the damn'd Project failing in the main, had this unexpected and fatal conſequence; numbers of theſe Men made a full Stop, foreſeeing that Popery would ſpoil all, and chuſing rather to quit than to embarque in ſo mad a Game, they became Martyrs to the late King, and by that Merit are now let in to a Reforming Government, that for its foundation declares againſt all thoſe Practices their whole Lives have been engaged in; the conſequence of which I need not explain.

But, as I was ſaying, this Cloſetting was the moſt unlikely way could be thought of to obtain what was aimed at by King *James*. Nothing ſo fatal to Authority as Contempt, and Princes of all things ought to avoid [illegible]

ials. It was highly impolitick to refuſe to
s artfull Knaves the pretence of Honeſty,
hich ſuch publick peremptory Summons to
bedience did do, to ſuch as could comply
ith them.

We ſaw how many he loſt by it: *Lynx*
ve their Jackcalls to raiſe their Prey; the
Lords of Men ſhould have theirs, to ſpread
eir Notions: This telling to one at a time
is Mind, was not a Majeſtick way, proper
r Monarchs to uſe, who need not make
eir Subjects hear from their own Mouths,
t feel the Effects of not apprehending quick-
, and complying faſter.

Though there are different ways uſed to
e ſame Deſigns, yet ſomething at laſt will
tray them to be alike.

We have ſeen Men loſe their Employments,
nd they have been told for what:

We have ſeen Men loſe their Employments,
nd no reaſon given why.

We have ſeen impudent Promiſers, and
oiſey Undertakers, received with open
rmes.

We have ſeen thoſe in faſhion who could
ilently obey, and ask no Queſtions.

And can it be ſuppoſed theſe different Pra-
ctices had the ſame View? This doubtleſs
makes it evident they had, that no former
Merits or Services could keep Men in the pub-
lick Stations they were in, that they had this
common Fate under the different Manage-
ment, the oldeſt Servants, the moſt deſerving
Friends, were forced to make way for a new
Adoption; and with Reaſon; for in truth
when a Project is once reſolved on, thoſe muſt
be found out that will undertake it, or at
leaſt will ſignificantly ſit ſtill, whilſt others
tranſact in it.

But as to the laſt Point, the Corruption
uſed in Parliaments, it is not to be doubted,
that where Menaces are uſed, Rewards are
likewiſe offered to induce Men to comply,
but neither being neceſſary to perſuade Men
to their common Intereſts, Threats and Pre-
ferments can never be made uſe of to Parlia-
ment Men for a good Deſign.

But, good God! May we not ſay there has
been a Trade amongſt us, as well known as
any other, that I mean of a Parliament Man;
and when ſhall we be happy enough to have
it otherwiſe? It was *Maſaniſſa*'s Expreſſion
of *Rome*, *Venalis eſſes, ſi Emptorem inveneris:*
I am ſure there is no Man can ſell his Coun-
trey, but there muſt be a Purchaſer. We
happened once to know remarkably; who
bought, who ſold, and what was paid: It
may often be perceived, though ſeldom ſo
luckily made out.

But to conclude with ſomething poſitive,
and with agreeable Notions, after ſo many
ugly ones, this being a time of great Expec-
tation for Reformation, we will determine
that Government to be free from any Suſpi-
tion of ſuch Aims or Deſigns as have been
ſpoken of,

When there are no particular Projects ſo
hatch'd and prepar'd for Parliaments, as that
it is expected aforehand they ſhould be com-
ply'd with.

When they are not given out in an *Athana-
ſian* Way, *whoſoever does not doe thus and
thus, ſhall neither be thought Friend to King
nor Kingdom.*

When honeſt Men are not diſpoſſeſt of their
Places, till ſome notorious Miſcarriage makes
the World ſenſible they are juſtly removed,
or ſome good Reaſon be given for it.

When Men of Integrity are not Project-
hanged, and their Places diſpoſed of to any
ſort of Tools, who are ready to ſerve the
Government, (as they call it,) and muſt need
in ſome time the Shelter of the Crown to de-
fend them from Parliaments, if they want it
not already.

When notorious Offenders againſt the fun-
damental Conſtitution are puniſhed, or at
leaſt not countenanced.

When thoſe in Places of Truſt may be de-
pended upon, and that the Secrets and Fate
of the Nation are not put into Mens hands by
way of Experiment, upon the refined Poli-
ticks of Making Friends.

When it is not thought more expedient
to truſt Complying Enemies than Plain-deal-
ing Friends, eſpecially when the one have the
common Conſent of Merit, the other the
Marks of publick Cenſure upon them.

When there is no Parliamentary Traffick
a foot, and that no Places are held in the ca-
pacity of able Men in the Houſe of Commons,
to which they could no other ways be en-
tituled.

When Men of ſteady Principles are not ex-
poſed to reproachful Titles by ſilly Flatterers,
and that Men always in communion with the
Church of *England*, are not called with as
little reaſon Fanaticks, as thoſe that gave a
Crown Commonwealthſmen.

Laſtly, When a Spade is called a Spade, and not an ambitious Staſeſman the Support of the Church, or a covetous old flattering Fanatick a Patriot; for ſuch miraculouſly have we ſeen in ſeaſon at the ſame time.

But now that God has ſo miraculouſly bleſt our Arms in the Recovery of our own, I hope he will make the Bleſſing complete, by reconciling us amongſt our ſelves; I hope thoſe that are to conſult for our future Eſtabliſhment, are now out of danger of being ſwayed by vain Fears, or influenced by any thing but Right Reaſon.

Theſe three Years have made us acquainted with one another, and are ſufficient to let wiſe Men know what they have to expect. The King is acquainted with his People, the People with their King; they know the Hazards he is willing to expoſe his Perſon to, againſt the publick Enemy; he (I hope) is ſo well ſatisfied of the Fidelity and Courage of his Subjects, as to be convinced this is the proper time to lay that Tie and promis'd Obligation upon them, of diſmiſſing the foreign Troops according to his Declaration.

I expect with great hopes a happy Union of Parties, on which I think our future Happineſs depends, ſince the great Point that firſt divided us, was Regency, or Election; and I believe the Prejudices on both ſides are abated upon juſt Ground.

Thoſe that in their Apprehenſion of what they might expect from the late King for the Nation and themſelves, were zealous to have a Crown'd Head to protect both, can hardly be wondred at; but ſome of the moſt eminent of them have ſo plainly ſhewed by their Actions ſince, they were incapable of complementing in a publick Concern, that I am confident all the World does and muſt agree, That what they did was according to their Judgments for the publick Good.

And I am of opinion, that the other Party who feared the Regency, was onely propoſed in favor of the late King, are convinced ſince there were publick ſpirited Men of that Sentiment, who acted upon no ſuch Deſign, but expecting more Agreement in ſuch a Settlement, and as great a Reformation upon that Foundation.

However, it were ridiculous now to quarrel with thoſe as Enemies to the King's Intereſt upon that account, on whom he has conferred ſuch Favors, placing ſo many of them in publick Employments, that rather thoſe have reaſon to think themſelves unfortunate, that were not of that Judgment too.

This makes me flatter my ſelf; theſe Diſputes will ceaſe, and that all will agree heartily in their Endeavors to ſupport K. *William* and the Government, the King, the Cuſtoms the Laws; this whole I call the Conſtitution, which ſtitution whoever is weary of, let him give a general Exciſe: For I doubt not but plainly to demonſtrate all I have ſaid concerning it, and to prove, that it entirely deſtroys the preſent Form of Government; Thoſe that will ſhew us the better one they intend to produce in the Room of it, I think ſhould be heard, and to that point onely, in Parliament, though it is dangerous to change in moſt things, and I hope we ſhall be moſt of all unwilling to try Experiments in this.

I would deſire to know whether a Parliament be onely neceſſary in *England*, for giving of Moneys, though it has been too often uſed, as if it were ſo; yet that will hardly be maintained.

There are many Uſes of Parliaments, of which I ſhall ſpeak preſently, which makes them eſſential to the whole, not to ſay that they really are a part of our Conſtitution: but if it be onely in the King's Power, to call or diſmiſs them at his Pleaſure; I ask then, They that give ſuch a Fund as may ſupport the Crown in all the Exigencies of War, as well as Peace, Have they not put that part of the Government, eſſential to us upon ſo many Accounts, in a poſſibility of being laid aſide, during the pleaſure of any Miniſter?

What is this then but an Alteration of the Conſtitution, if Parliaments are a part of it, and the Supplies which I allow, may this way be provided for, be not what onely makes them neceſſary.

I ſhall now take the Liberty to ſhew why, and in what, Parliaments are indiſpenſably neceſſary to the Being of our Government, and that will more evidently ſhew ſuch a Tax to be the very deſtruction of it; and I ſhall not fail to anſwer, in the firſt place, the Excuſe they make for themſelves who would agree to ſuch a Tax, *That they would onely give it for a Time.*

Are not Parliaments neceſſary to make ſeaſonable and wholeſome Laws, and as neceſſary to unmake ſome, as make others? The Act of Conformity had no Effects ſuitable to its Deſigns; and the Utility expected from the Teſt Act did not anſwer Expectation, for

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pists were admitted into Employments afterwards; nay Men turn'd Papists to have been. But I hope this good will be found ever, in the repeal of one of them, that Protestants amongst us may live unpersuted.

But now sure, more than ever, it must be ow'd, That Parliaments are necessary to ep Ministers in awe, to examine and reform Abuses in Government, and Violations Law; since the present King, when Prince *Orange*, did refer in his Declaration all ose Grievances, and the Promoters of them Parliament, as the proper place to have ose Irregularities red.ess'd, which made his y to the Crown.

But we must speak plainly under a good ng, who is but imperfectly so, if he do help us to provide against a bad one; d we must say that the Essential use of Parliament, is to prevent the Nation being opss'd by unnecessary Taxes, and to provide the good Disposition of them when given. It is impossible to suppose a People unwilling to contribute to their own Security; e Danger is not on that side; but we may ppose (for we have seen already) an ill use ade of what has been given for their Preervation: The Supplies, Revenues, and Taxes ven to the late King, were never design'd ere) to pay Pensions to Father *Petre*, to pport Embassies to *Rome*, to introduce Poery, and suppress the Protestant Religion.

If then, in plain English, the whole Balance of the Government on the People's side, d that which only makes it a limitted Monarchy, and not the Tyranny of *France*, be that Parliaments must meet to the terrour of Mirters, and redress of Grievances; And why must they meet? Because sooner or later the necessity of Affairs will require it; if this be a known Truth, Must we not own, that whatsoever takes off this Necessity of Parliament destroys our Government?

The Argument of a good Prince is nothing to the purpose, nor can any Necessity be a good one under the most despotick Government: The Administration may be Gentle and Just in one Reign, and return to its Violence in another; nor can any Necessity make Men reasonably avoid one Danger by running into a greater.

Shall this give us Satisfaction, being told to allay our Fears, that such a Tax under the strictest Penalties shall be confined to a time,

I will suppose any thing under the present Government, though it was honestly and wisely said of a great Man, that I fear will be wanted, and was well known in Parliament, That he could suppose nothing where the Nation was concern'd; but if this General Excise should be given for some Years only, those Princes are Mortal we have such Confidence in, and the continuation of the additional Customs expired with the Life of King *Charles*, yet notwithstanding were Collected by the late King's command, does plainly shew what we might expect upon the like occasion; Did he not force the Payment of that Tax against Law? Did he not force it, when without an Army? And can any Man believe, even in the bearing Humour this Nation has long been in, That King *James* durst have levied a new Tax without consent of Parliament, but the continuance of what already has been in practice, of what the People have been used to comply with, we know has been successfully ventured upon, though against Law.

I must confess the Ministers, who pretend, long since to have foreseen the Necessity of this General-Excise for a time, should (whoever had escap'd) have made some Examples of those who acted in the illegal Collection of those Duties, ceasing to be due by Law, if they would have had us believe at any time, that such a sufficient Provision, once in a way of being Collected, should ever cease.

But I have other Reasons to make me conclude this Tax, once established, would never dye. I remember those Verses in *Hudibras*.

But when the date of was Nock out,
Off drop'd the sympathetick Snout.

When the date of this Tax were out, so many sympathising Officers would be set a drift again. That I dare Answer for it, the diligence these Excise Men would use for their own Preservation, would not fail to procure an Excise Parliament; the influence they have is well known in their Management of one Branch, and how they make use of it; and the certain succession that would inevitably ensue, no doubt would prove a great Blessing to the Nation.

This Excise would beget such a number of Officers, such Officers would procure such Parlia-

Parliament Men, ſuch Parliament Men would give ſuch Votes, ſuch Votes would deſerve ſuch Pentions, ſuch Pentions would be ſo well paid upon ſuch a Fund, that who can doubt of its continuance. But whenever this Tax is vehemently inſiſted upon, it may juſtly raiſe great Suſpicions, that it is not a publick or immediate Neceſſity that makes it ſo preſt but ſome other Reaſon. In the utmoſt Neceſſity, Can that be a fit Tax to be given, which muſt coſt near a fourth part in Collecting? And that for a preſent Occaſion which is wholly uncertain, and neither to be modelled, or gueſs'd at in ſome few Years?

But what gives juſt Jealouſies to thinking Men, is, That they are ſure the Government cannot be ſo wrongfully inform'd as not to know, that a General-Exciſe is little other than a Tax upon Land accompanied with moſt dangerous Circumſtances to the Conſtitution, and uneaſie to the People.

If an Exciſe be laid upon every Thing, which a Man of Neceſſity muſt buy, Is not that in Proportion to that Exciſe, ſo much out of his Money, which comes out of his Land? If a Man can conceive it as eaſie to pay, by ſo many two Pences and Groats in a Day in Exciſe, what otherwiſe he muſt pay by ſo many Crowns a Month out of his Eſtate, I have nothing to ſay.

But were it as ſome conceive, that all People paying a kind of Proportion, the Landed Men are eaſed: If this were true it were moſt unadviſable in our preſent Circumſtances, ſhould we bring a Tax upon the common People, who never felt the weight of one before, eſpecially when we depend upon their inclinations and ſteadineſs to our Intereſt.

But, alas! the common Man of *England* muſt have his Proportion of Meat, of Ale, and his time to loiter; God forbid we ſhould alter the Heart and Conſtitution of them, and ſtarve them into French Men; if they muſt pay more for what they have, they will have ways in Proportion to that Expence, ſo that beſides what is tax'd in every Exciſe, and expreſſed in the Law, the Landed Man muſt pay three Pence or a Groat extraordinary to every Labourer they employ by the Day, and two or three Pounds a Year more to thoſe they give Wages to by the Year.

Would not any Man rather juſtly compute, and give knowingly and chearfully what is neceſſary for the publick Support, than have his Pockets thus pick'd by his own Conſent, not being (as was ſaid by one of our Kings) able to part with a Summ, when he either ſaw, or knew what it was?

This alone has ſome colour of Reaſon in it, that Merchants and Money'd Men, who are not touched in Land Taxes, would contribute ſomething this way; but ſure for this there might be found more effectual Means. I ſhall only Anſwer that the Contribution of ſuch Men in Exciſe, would be very inconſiderable, and in no Proportion; they that get moſt Money ſpend leaſt: And I would have it but enquired into, if a certain Knight, well known in *Weſtminſter*, would pay in Exciſe for Meat, Drink, and Equipage, proportionably to 200000 *l.* Eſtate.

But as for the Neceſſity pretended (which, give me leave, by the bye to obſerve) ſometimes is made ſo great, you would ſuppoſe we were almoſt doom'd to certain Deſtruction, and then nothing but a General Exciſe can ſupport us; when at another time to doubt of the ſucceſs of any Thing humanely impoſſible, is a capital Offence.

What then are the preſent Difficulties we labour under? A War with *France*, and a Title to which there are other Pretenders: The Diſputes between the Houſe of *York* and *Lancaſter* are not yet forgotten, and Wars abroad we had during thoſe Diſputes; no doubt thoſe Parliaments which met under thoſe different Titles, had as much mind to ſecure themſelves againſt the oppoſite Party, as we can have againſt King *James*, and as great a deſire to ſupport the Honour of the Nation, as we can have; yet never was there ſuch Difficulties pretended, or ſuch Dangers as could give them the Confidence to offer at, or propoſe a General Exciſe.

The ſame Providence that has ſupported us thus long without this Expedient, I doubt not will continue to do ſo; but I think nothing leſs than a Miracle can preſerve the Conſtitution, if that be once granted.

For Heavens ſake, What were they leſs than Mad in King *Charles*'s Time, who were always preſſing that Prince to a War with *France*, and giving declared Supplies for that purpoſe? Were they not perfectly Diſtracted, that were ſo impatient to draw ſuch an unreaſonable Power upon themſelves, ſince now at a time, when the Emperour, ſo many German Princes, *Spain*, *Holland*, and part of *Italy*, are in Wars with *France*, they are yet ſo formidable, that nothing but a General-Exciſe can

save us, or support us in this War against Enemy, which we have so lately con-ded against at Sea with the Dutch on our

What can so extreamly alter the Case? It ust be a mismanagement of our Strength d Wealth. I shall not say how much *France* ght have been annoyed with less Expence, d Force rightly employ'd; nor how little ason we have to boast of a part of our own minion, reduced by the hand of God, and series of Miracles, which we owe to our Negligence, that we ever disputed for. hall not speak of our Disgraces at Sea, our terest in that Point has been so betray'd in last Reigns, that it ought doubly to be k'd after in this. But my great fear is, War is forc'd into a wrong Channel, by me that are Strangers to the true Interest d proper Glory of the Nation.

However I shall wave these retrospects, and ke the Matter of Fact, as it is, for our pre-nt Consideration.

Ireland reduc'd, *Scotland* sufficiently secu-d by the late Treaties, a Peace as good as ncluded between the Emperour and the rk, the French drove out of *Italy* and *dmont*, and brought upon the Defensive in *uphine* and *Flanders*. Are we not in evi-nt Dangers? And can any Thing less than General Excise save us?

Yes, I apprehend we are; and the more r all these Successes, if we look not to the ain Chance. The Sea, 'tis there we ought o make great Efforts, extraordinary ones in-ed for our own sakes, and for the general terest, if rightly understood.

What shall *England* be the better for all e Successes shall attend the Confederate rmies? Shall we make War wholly for our lies, spend all our Wealth in Land Forces, d forget that we have the Dominion of the a to maintain? Shall we send all the pre-nt Stock out of the Nation, and over-ok our Trade, the only means of getting ore?

What becomes of *England*? What Ad-ntages can benefit them, if the French be t humbled at Sea? Nay, I will maintain it ore dangerous for the whole, if the Wealth *France* be employ'd after a Peace made r Four of Five Years in the Marine only, he ay then begin again, and be fairer then ever r the Empire of the World, or be sure to Master of the Trade of it.

If we must go this way to work, let us know it is an Article agreed with all our Allies, that a Peace be never concluded till the French are forc'd by Land to destroy their own Harbours, to burn their own Ships.

For our *Sixty five thousand Men* when *Ireland* is reduc'd, and *One hundred and fifty Ships* kept at Sea, I hope we have some prospect we are to have some share in the Spoil; all I desire, is, we may have the same probality, that *Brest* and *Dunkirk* should be made useless, as the Emperour may have of *Strasburgh* and *Luxemburgh*, the Spainard of *Mons*, the Savoyard of *Cassal* and *Pignerol*.

But nothing surpriseth me more than the Discourses of some amongst us, That give out as if the whole Confederacy was engaged in War upon our Account, and therefore we are obliged in Honour to support it at any rate. Was not the War begun between the Emperour and *France*, before the Prince of *Orange* came over into *England*? What made the *States of Holland*, but their own Interest, supply the necessary Charge of the Expedition? Did they not however expect it? And were they not well paid for it? In what we do for them, on the like Score, (though for our own Security.) Ought we not to demand and expect the like?

But to be told of separate Peaces, and being left in the Lurch; What are we taken for? Must we suppose the Emperour, *Germany*, *Spain*, and *Holland*, will submit to *France*, unless we ruine our selves for the Expence of the War? Ought they not in a fair Computation be satisfied, if a Royal Navy be set out by the English, and their Common Enemy be diverted by descents, and annoyed by those they used to have, if not assistant to *France*, yet neuter in their Wars.

But when they press these Bugbear Dangers of being left alone; an English Man may reasonably give this Answer, That if we had the Moneys already expended, our Fleets in the Condition they might have been in, the Militia settled to the best Advantage, and a small number of our own Troops a foot, we might reasonably expect an Issue of the War, more to the Honour and Advantage of the Nation, depending upon our own Strength, than by this manner of consuming our Wealth in the payment of Foreign Troops, within the Kingdom, that spend nothing, and English Troops without, that spend all.

But

But however, when our Condition is moſt Dangerous, and that a General-Exciſe is propoſed; I hope moſt Engliſh Men will Anſwer like that Generous Spainard, who had a Statue erected for what he ſaid and did: It was in a Town in *Caſtile* hard preſs'd by the Moors, and the whole Countrey menac'd with utter Ruine, where a Propoſal was made that the King might raiſe Money in an unreaſonable manner; conſidering the great exigency of Affairs, to which he reply'd in the publick Counſel; *If the Town be loſt, many brave* Caſtilians *will loſe their Lives; if all* Caſtile *be over-run, more will periſh: But I doubt not ſome will remain to revenge us, and to gain their Countrey; but if this be conſented to, that is now propoſed, there is no* Caſtilian *left. I have Moneys in my Houſe, I will give it all; my Sword is by my Side, I will loſe the laſt drop of my Blood in defence of my Countrey; every Man take the ſame Reſolution, and then we need not fear but we ſhall preſerve our Town, our Countrey, our Laws, our Honour and our Liberty.*

But, Sir, I have given you too great a trouble; I ſhall end without any Form, and ſhall only ſay, That if a General-Exciſe be conſented to, by the Members in Parliament, I ſhall conclude it is upon this dependence that they leave the Adminiſtration in the hands of Miniſters of ſo known Ability and Integrity, that they think it ſafer than in their own; that they are ſecure of a Succeſſion of *Jure Divino* States-men for ever more. And, laſtly, That they are convinc'd this Government wants all their Money, but none of their Care.

FINIS.